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THE RELIGIOUS EXPERIENCES OF THOMAS CARLYLE, JOHN
STUART MILL AND HARRIET MARTINEAU
STUDIED COMPARATIVELY

BY

ADELE MASTEN

A. B. University of Wisconsin, 1915

THESIS

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the

Degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

IN ENGLISH

IN

THE GRADUATE SCHOOL

OF THE

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS

1918

1918
M39

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS
THE GRADUATE SCHOOL

June 1 1918

I HEREBY RECOMMEND THAT THE THESIS PREPARED UNDER MY
SUPERVISION BY Adelle Masten
ENTITLED The Religious Experiences of Thomas Carlyle,
John Stuart Mill and Harriet Martineau Studied Comparatively
BE ACCEPTED AS FULFILLING THIS PART OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR
THE DEGREE OF Master of Arts

Stuart Sherman
In Charge of Thesis
Stuart Sherman
Head of Department

Recommendation concurred in*

Committee
on
Final Examination*

*Required for doctor's degree but not for master's

103251

PREFACE

Although the subjects of this paper, especially Carlyle and Mill, are so well known that their works have been discussed and criticized in almost every possible way, it is believed that a particular study of this kind has never before been made. Thomas Carlyle, John Stuart Mill, and Harriet Martineau lived in the Nineteenth Century and contributed to the great and various literary output of the time. This period, the Victorian Age of literature, was with one exception influenced by no one concerted movement. This exception was the Oxford Movement, a Church of England movement which was rather restricted in its influence. Yet, in spite of the fact that no one movement was dominant, certain conditions existed to which inevitably the people of the time must react.

One of these influences was the spread of democracy. The French and American revolutions heralded a wide interest in social problems. Another great influence was that of the remarkable discoveries in the realm of science. These, especially those made in biology and psychology, made the problem of man's personal existence a vital one.

Knowing that Carlyle, Mill, and Miss Martineau had each a vital religious experience, underwent radical changes in their religious views, I propose to study their religious experiences comparatively, to see whether or not they have elements of similarity. If their experiences are different, I should like to account for the differences, and if they are alike, I should like to show why. Then, ultimately and if possible, I should like to relate their experiences to their time, the Victorian Age.

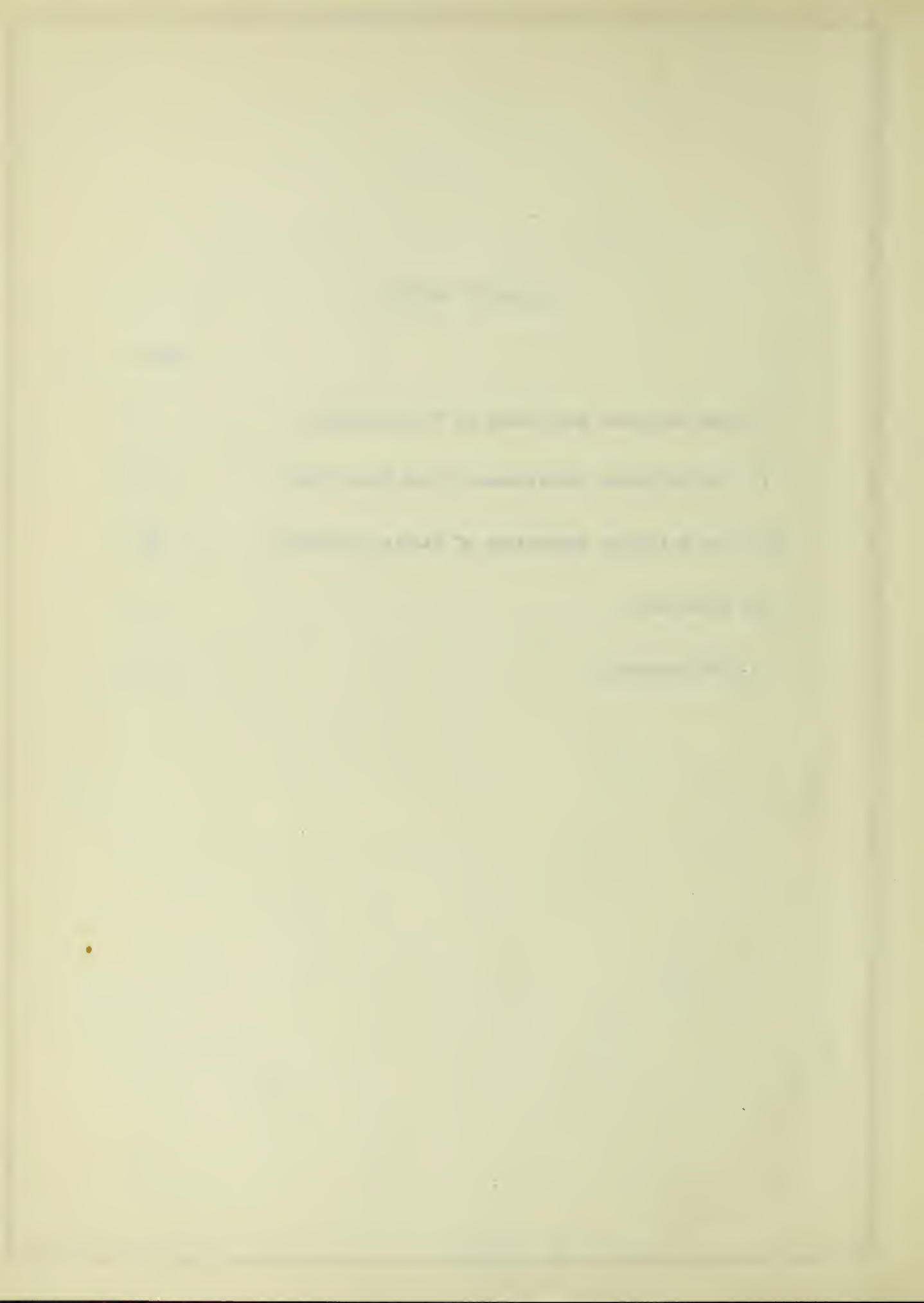


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I.

THE RELIGIOUS EXPERIENCE OF THOMAS CARLYLE

No one who reads much of what Thomas Carlyle has written can fail to be impressed by the profoundly religious stamp of his mind. There is no doubt of his having had a religious experience. Yet just what this experience was, exactly what faith he held, and whether or not this faith changed, has puzzled some people. Again and again he emphatically asserts a firm belief- a belief, yes; but a belief in what? a God? and if a God, what kind?

To understand Carlyle's religious experience at all, we must first of all remember that he was before everything else a thinker, and a sincere one. If doubts arose in his mind, he had to recognize them and think them through. As Froude says, "Commonplace persons, if assailed by misgivings, thrust them aside, throw themselves into occupation, and leave doubt to settle itself. Carlyle could not."¹ A recognition of this trait in him creates admiration for him, and whether we believe with him or not, makes a study of his experience worthwhile.

It was natural for Carlyle to be of a religious turn of mind, because his parents were. James Carlyle, the father, partly on account of the rigorous, poverty-stricken life he had led as a boy, had come to have a very serious nature. When James was a boy, religion had been introduced into the house through a singular figure, John Orr, the schoolmaster of Hoddam. "From him," quoting

1. Froude, Life of Carlyle, I, 54

THE JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN MEDICAL ASSOCIATION

Published Weekly, Excepting the Last Two Weeks of December, When It Appears Twice a Week

Subscription Price, Five Dollars per Annum in Advance. Single Copies, Fifteen Cents

Entered as Second-Class Matter, October 3, 1917. Postpaid at Special Rate of \$3.75 per Annum, Authorized by Act of Congress, October 3, 1917. Paid for postage by the Postoffice at Chicago, Ill., under special agreement of the Postoffice Department.

Acceptance for mailing at special rate of postage provided for in Act of October 3, 1917, authorized on July 1, 1918.

Postmaster: This publication is entered as second-class matter, October 3, 1917, under Postoffice No. 1111, Chicago, Ill., under special agreement of the Postoffice Department.

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Published by the American Medical Association, 535 North Dearborn Street, Chicago, Ill.

Subscription orders, notices of change of address, and other correspondence should be sent to the Editor, American Medical Association, 535 North Dearborn Street, Chicago, Ill.

Advertisements should be sent to the Business Manager, American Medical Association, 535 North Dearborn Street, Chicago, Ill.

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Froude, "James Carlyle gained such knowledge as he had, part of it a knowledge of the Bible which became the guiding principle of his life."¹ As the man grew older, this religious tendency deepened. Influenced by his uncle, Robert Brand, who was a strict Presbyterian, James made profession of faith as a "Burgher", a sect among the Scotch seceders which upheld the lawfulness of the burghess oath, in which the burghesses professed ~~the true religion professed with the~~ realm. This sect thought the established church from which they separated was not sufficiently in earnest.

As everyone knows, Presbyterianism has always been marked by extreme simplicity. The forms of worship are the reading of the Holy Scripture and prayer. In the family in which Thomas Carlyle was brought up, the father conducted the daily worship in which every member of the family joined. "The Sunday services in Mr. Johnstone's meeting-house were the events of the week. The congregation were 'Dissenters' of a marked type, some of them coming from as far as Carlisle."² These people believed in the Bible as a direct communication from Heaven. It showed the will of God and the relation in which men stood to their Maker. They accepted it literally and went to it directly for solution to problems of conduct. In regard to these dissenters Carlyle himself wrote in 1866, "A man who in those days awoke to the belief that he actually had a soul to be saved or lost was apt to be found among the Dissenting people and to have given up attendance at Kirk. All dissent in Scotland is merely stricter adherence to the Church of the Reformation. Very venerable are those old Seceder clergy to me now as I look back."³ Of one of the worshippers in this meeting-house, old David Hope, Carlyle tells an anecdote which well illustrates the temper of the men who assembled there. "Old David Hope lived on a farm close by

1. Froude, Life of Carlyle, I, 5

2. Ibid., I, 9

3. Ibid.

Solway Shore— a wet country with late harvests that are sometimes incredibly hard to save. David's stuff one windy morning was all standing dry, ready to be saved if he still stood to it, which was very much his intention. After breakfast David was putting on his spectacles, ready to read the morning psalm and chapter when somebody rushed in. 'Such a raging wind risen will drive the shocks into the sea if let alone!' 'Wind!' answered David, 'Wind cannot get ae straw that has been appointed mine. Sit down and let us worship God.'¹

Among these people Carlyle grew up, and along with them accepted this religion. While he lived at Ecclefechan, then, we can think of him as having a belief in the literal truth of the Bible and hence a firm faith in God, and the teachings of Christ. Carlyle's mother, although she has not been mentioned up to this time, must not be slighted in a record of his early faith. "She was a severe Calvinist, and watched with the most affectionate anxiety over her children's welfare, her eldest boy's above all."² Between Thomas and his mother there was an attachment peculiar and strong. His life and his letters to her show that he loved her perhaps more than he loved any other creature. It was natural then that he should be imbued with her ideals, her beliefs, and her desires.

One of the wishes of Carlyle's mother and of his father also, was to have Thomas become a minister. He had showed promise as a scholar at Annan school, and so his father decided to send him to Edinburgh to the University. Accordingly he went in 1809. After he had been there some time and had become adjusted and begun to grow, he began to realize, "that he had not the least enthusiasm for that business, that even grave prohibitory doubts were gradually

1. Froude, Life of Carlyle, I, 10

2. Ibid., I, 37

rising ahead. Formalism was not the pinching point, had there been the preliminary belief forthcoming.¹ "No church or speaking entity whatever can do without formulas, but it must believe them first if it would be honest!"² By the time Carlyle had finished college, though the ministry was still his formal destination, his doubts as to his desire to enter it had increased, and he was glad to put off his final resolution for a few years. Finally in 1818, his doubts strengthened by a reading of Gibbon, he definitely gave up the idea of the ministry as a profession.

The books which Carlyle had read at Edinburgh and those in Irving's library which he had eagerly devoured, had shown him that the ideas his parents held and which he had shared with them, were, to the great minds of Europe, not only doubtful but positively incredible. All the thinking he did on the subject, and this was a good deal, tended to corroborate what he read. He was indeed getting into a grievous state of mind.

This was the beginning of the period which Carlyle calls, "the three most miserable years of my life." The state of England and Scotland bothered him a good deal. Wages were low and the prices of food outrageous. Carlyle saw hundreds of men out of work while their families were starving. The question, "What is this world then, what is this human life, over which a just God is said to preside, but of whose presence or providence so few signs are visible"³ continually agitated him. He was a man who needed a definite, firm faith in order almost to live; his honesty would not let him keep his childish faith, and he could find no other. In speaking of Teufelsdröckh he says something which undoubtedly applies to his own state of mind at this time. "The Universe

1. Froude, Life of Carlyle, I, 24

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid., I, 52

the first of these is the fact that the
the second is the fact that the
the third is the fact that the
the fourth is the fact that the
the fifth is the fact that the

the sixth is the fact that the
the seventh is the fact that the
the eighth is the fact that the
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was a mighty Sphinx-riddle, which I knew so little of, yet must ~~rede~~ or be devoured. A strange contradiction lay in me; and I as yet knew not the solution of it.¹ Again he remarks, speaking for his hero, "A nameless unrest urged me forward; to which the outward motion was some momentary lying solace. Whither should I go? My loadstars were blotted out; in that canopy of grim fire shone no star. Yet forward must I; the ground burnt under me; there was no rest for the sole of my foot. I was alone, alone!"²

Like Teufelsdröckh, Carlyle was in reality alone in his spiritual trouble. To his mother, the one of whose sympathy he was sure, he could not go, because she would not understand, would only be hurt. She sensed, however, that something was wrong with her Tom, and some of her letters to him at this time are pitiful in their attempts to guide him. "Seek God with all your heart; and oh, my dear son, cease not to pray for His counsel in all your ways. As a sincere friend whom you are always dear to, I beg you do not neglect reading a part of your Bible daily, and may the Lord open your eyes to see the wondrous things out of His Law!"³ As time went on, he tried to persuade his mother that their opinions, though arrived at by different means, and appearing different, were at bottom one and the same. Though, of course, Carlyle had to fight out his own deliverance, there is no doubt that his mother's tender, watchful care did much to lighten his trouble.

Another friend, Edward Irving, by his sympathy and lack of preach-ment helped him as much as he could. They had been great friends in school and had exchanged views on many subjects. Carlyle confessed his doubts to him after Irving had, "prearranged to take well from me (what I said) like an elder brother if I would be frank with him, and right royally he did so, and to the

1. Carlyle, Sartor Resartus, 97

2. Ibid., 119

3. Froude, Life of Carlyle, I, 47

end of his life we needed no concealments on that head, which was really a step gained." ¹ Carlyle felt rather ashamed of his indefinite state of mind. In a letter to him, Irving upbraids him for railing at himself for a lack of manliness, "My dear Sir, is it to be doubted that you are suffering grievously the want of spirⁱtual communion, the bread and water of the soul? and why, then, do you, as it were, Mock at your calamity and treat it jestingly? I declare that this is a sore offense." ²

In a man like Carlyle this period of storm and stress could not endure forever. It must either make him or break him. Accordingly, in 1821, we see worked out in him what may be called the climax of his religious unrest. We have seen his need, something to believe in, something to worship. The account of the solution of his problem which he gives through the person of Teufelsdröckh in Sartor Resartus is peculiarly Carlylese. He authenticates the account as fact in his own life, which may be interpreted perhaps, as symbolical fact.

Teufelsdröckh was possessed of a peculiar kind of fear. "Having no hope, neither had I any definite fear, were it of Man or Devil:- and yet, strangely enough, I lived in a continual, indefinite, pining fear- it seemed as if all things in the Heavens above and the Earth beneath would hurt me; as if the Heavens and the Earth were but the boundless jaws of a devouring monster wherein I, palpitating, waited to be devoured." ³ Finally, one night as he was walking along the dirty little Rue Saint-Thomas de l'Enfer, all at once the thought came to him, "What art thou afraid of? Wherefore, like a coward, dost thou forever pip and whimper and go cowering and trembling? Despicable biped! What is th sum-total of the worst that lies before thee? Death? Well, Death;-

1. Froude, Life of Carlyle, I, 71

2. Ibid., I, 80

3. Carlyle, Sartor Resartus, 127

Hast thou not a heart; canst thou not suffer whatsoever it be?.....Let it come, then; I will meet it and defy it!'.....Thus had the EVERLASTING NO pealed authoritatively through all the recesses of my Being, of my Me; and then it was that my whole Me stood up, in native God-created majesty, and with emphasis recorded its Protest.....It is from this hour that I incline to date my Spiritual New-birth, or Baphometric Fire-baptism; perhaps I directly thereupon began to be a Man."¹

Interpreting these quotations, one can say that Carlyle's answer to his doubt and fear was defiance, defiance of whatever it was which had caused his suffering. This might seem that, instead of having reached firm land after floundering in the water of despair, he had drowned. It reminds one of Satan's defiant speech after his fall. Yet, within the speech, describing the power he seemed to feel, consider the words, "God-created Majesty". They seem to show that he believed the power which he had, to be not his own, but God's, merely lent him.

This meeting of his doubts by defiance is one thing for which Carlyle has been greatly criticised. It represents the impatient attitude the man assumed toward any kind of indecision. And one sympathetic with Carlyle cannot but feel that it is not so much an attitude of proud self-power as it is one of courageous resignation. He was what someone once called "a reluctant unbeliever". Hence the fierceness of the struggle. The seeming violence of the defiance, of course, may be explained by considering the poetically exaggerated quality of his writing.

However it be, we have Carlyle's word for it that the experience was a real one, that he did actually defy his doubts, and that his defiance was the first step forward toward a new faith.

1. Carlyle, Sartor Resartus, 127

The next phase of Carlyle's religious development is hard to trace exactly. Perhaps the chapter called "The Center of Indifference" in the story of Teufelsdröckh comes nearer than anything else to explaining Carlyle's own state. The events related in the chapter do not apply to his life but are merely symbolical of the mental and spiritual change which came over him. He says of his hero, "Experience is the grand spiritual doctor and with him Teufelsdröckh has now been long a patient, swallowing many a bitter bolus."¹ The truth was, Carlyle as well as Teufelsdröckh had been feeding his mind and soul on his own troubles. His egoism had been overpowering. As he grew older, he recognized more and more his own insignificance in the plan of the universe; "What art thou that sittest whining there? Thou art still Nothing, Nobody: true; but who, then, is Something, Somebody? For thee the Family of Man has no use; it rejects thee; thou art wholly as a dissevered limb: so be it; perhaps it is better so!"² This can hardly be called humble resignation, yet it approaches it more nearly than anything else so far in his development. Teufelsdröckh says of his state, "Wretchedness was still wretched, but I could now partly see through it and and despise it."³

Undoubtedly Carlyle did go through some such experience as this, though in all probability it did not last as long as it is here represented as lasting for Teufelsdröckh. Also, probably, this indifference did not come all at once and then go away never to return. From various letters, we can realize that he had some glimpses into hope for himself and his destiny at about this time, for in 1822 he writes to his mother, "I consider that my Almighty Author has given me some glimmerings of superior understanding and mental gifts;

1. Carlyle, Sartor Resartus, 137

2. Ibid., 138

3. Ibid., 137

and I should reckon it the worst treason against Him to reject improving and using to the very utmost of my power these his bountiful mercies."¹

And so we come now to the last stage of Carlyle's religious experience and we naturally ask: What are the conclusions at which he arrived after his spiritual and mental wanderings? As we asked at first, did he finally believe in a God, a good one, did he believe in the Bible and in the church? Carlyle has been very seriously criticized by some zealous churchmen as holding heretical and appalling beliefs; others, just as sincerely earnest Christians, have pointed him out as professing and practicing the true Christian religion. Disregarding his theology, many have spoken of him as being the greatest moral force of the Nineteenth Century. What are we to believe?

First let us look at Teufelsdröckh's final spiritual experience and beliefs, for in them we may find at least a symbol of Carlyle's personal experience and belief. From the chapter called "The Everlasting Yea" we quote these words: ¹"Has not thy life been that of most sufficient men thou hast known in this generation? An outflush of foolish young Enthusiasm.....: all this parched away under the Droughts of practical and spiritual Unbelief, as Disappointment in thought and act, oft repeated, gave rise to Doubt, and Doubt gradually settled into Denial!".....²"The hot Harmattan wind had raged itself out; its howl went silent within me; and the long-deafened soul could now hear. I paused in my wild wanderings and sat down to wait and consider..... I seemed to surrender, to renounce utterly, and say: 'Fly, then, false shadows of Hope; I will chase you no more, I will believe you no more. And ye too, haggard spectres of Fear, I care not for you; ye too are all shadows and a lie. Let me rest here:..... Here, then, as I lay in that CENTRE OF INDIFFERENCE, cast,

1. Froude, Life of Carlyle, I, 133
2. Carlyle, Sartor Resartus, 139

The first part of the paper discusses the importance of the study and the objectives of the research. It then proceeds to a literature review, followed by a description of the methodology used in the study. The results of the study are presented in the next section, followed by a discussion of the findings and their implications. The paper concludes with a summary of the main points and a list of references.

The study was conducted in a laboratory setting, using a series of experiments to measure the effects of the treatment on the response of the subjects. The subjects were divided into two groups, one receiving the treatment and the other serving as a control. The results of the experiments are presented in the following tables.

Experiment	Treatment Group	Control Group
1	10.5	8.2
2	12.1	9.8
3	11.3	10.1
4	13.7	11.5
5	12.9	12.3

The results of the experiments show that the treatment had a significant effect on the response of the subjects, with the treatment group consistently showing higher values than the control group. This suggests that the treatment is effective in increasing the response of the subjects.

The study was limited by a number of factors, including the small sample size and the laboratory setting. Further research is needed to confirm the findings of this study and to explore the effects of the treatment in a more natural setting.

doubtless by benignant upper Influence, into a healing sleep, the heavy dreams rolled gradually away, and I awoke to a new Heaven and a new Earth. The first preliminary moral Act, Annihilation of Self, had been happily accomplished; and my minds eyes were now unsealed, and its hands ungyved.¹"

After this experience, Teufelsdröckh has in every essential way, a changed attitude toward life. In speaking of Nature he says, "Why do I not name thee God? Art not thou the 'Living Garment of God'? O Heavens, is it, in very deed, He, then, that ever speaks through thee; that lives and lives in thee, that lives and loves in Me?"²..... "The Universe is not dead and demoniacal, a charnel house with spectres; but Godlike, and my Father's!"³"With other eyes, too, could I now look upon my fellow man; with an infinite Love, an infinite Pity. Poor, wandering, wayward Man!..... O my Brother, my Brother, why cannot I shelter thee in my bosom, and wipe away all tears from thy eyes! Truly, the din of many-voiced Life, which, in this solitude, with the mind's organ, I could hear, was no longer a maddening discord, but a melting one."⁴

The question now to be solved is: How much of this applies to Carlyle? Judging from his letters and from authoritatively quoted conversations, the only sources except his works which we now have to use in estimating his belief, it is safe to say that this experience, 'this crossing the howling deserts of Infidelity and reaching the new firm lands of Faith beyond'⁵ was in point of fact not quite the same as Carlyle's own experience. Although nearly everything which Carlyle wrote is an indirect appeal to Englishmen to forsake the various evils of their ways and follow Christian ideals, the very vehemence and reiteration of his assertions tends to make one question the firmness of his belief. Of one

1. Carlyle, Sartor Resartus, 140

2. Ibid., 142

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

5. Carlyle, Life of John Sterling

thing, however, we may be sure. Carlyle believed with his whole being in the value of earnest belief in God. In one place he says, "Of man's whole terrestrial possessions and attainments, the noblest are his symbols, divine or divine seeming.....: what we can call his Realized Ideals. One is his church. Strong was he that had a church. Such virtue was in Belief- well might men prize their credo, and raise stateliest Temples for it, and reverend Hierarchies, and give it the tithe of their substance; it was worth living for and dying for...."¹

To this idea of the church we will return. As to his belief in God, it would be most unfair to Carlyle to say that he was insincere in his statements, made repeatedly, which show a belief in God. This above all, he was not. He did believe in a God, a something divine which is above all. For him, though, God was so shrouded in mystery that nothing definite could be known of His attributes. When accused once by Sterling of not having a belief in a personal God, he wrote in reply: "The Highest cannot be spoken of in words. Personal! Impersonal! One! Three! What meaning can any mortal after all attach to these in reference to such an object? Wer darf ihn nennen? I dare not, and do not."²

The idea of the Trinity, then, he rejected, or simply did not consider. He thought of God simply as a great and good, mysterious and incomprehensible Power, one identified with no especial creed. In the same letter to Sterling, just quoted from, he says, showing his wish to be faithful to truth, "Finally, assure yourself that I am neither Pagan, nor Turk, nor circumcised Jew; but an unfortunate Christian individual resident at Chelsea in this year of Grace, neither Pantheist, nor Pot-theist, nor any Theist or Ist whatsoever, having the most decided contempt for all such manner of system builders or sect founders...

1. Carlyle, The French Revolution, I, 23

2. Froude, Thomas Carlyle, History of His Life in London, I, 45

feeling well beforehand that all such are and ever must be wrong. By God's blessing one has got two eyes to look with, also a mind capable of knowing, of believing. That is all the creed I will at this time insist on."¹

What bothered Carlyle was the existence of so much evil in the world. In the lecture on Mohomet in Heroes and Hero Worship, he argues that surely God would not allow a hundred and eighty millions of creatures to live and die by the doctrine of the Koran and of Mohomet, unless there were in the doctrine, sufficient of good for salvation. Would a good God let so many people die unsaved, when it was through no fault of their own? What he was forever struggling to do was to associate with a good God, evil handiwork in the person of sinful man. He could not believe in the God of the Materialists, and he thought the world did not bear out the Biblical idea of God. Hence, for a long time he was torn on this question. In all his books, however, he continually refers to God, and the question naturally arises, if God for him was not the commonly conceived Biblical idea of God, and if his was not a God thought of as sitting outside the Universe and watching it go, in what kind of God did he then believe? As the sentences from the letter to Sterling show, he would not really define God, even to himself. But through his not indicating any marked differences, we may assume that the God in whom he finally put his faith was much the same as the God of his childhood, of his parents. And so, although Carlyle never had the idea of God as a loving father to the people in the world, imminent and helpful, he did think of Him, as we have said before, as a great, beneficent incomprehensibility, altogether mysterious, yet altogether real.

For Carlyle God was made manifest to man through the Universe. This has to do with what has been called his "Divine idea of the World" doctrine, Transcendentalism, or Natural Supernaturalism. Because the Universe is the

1. Froude, Thomas Carlyle, History of His Life in London, I, 45

manifestation of, or the "Living Garment" of God, the attitude to be taken toward Nature is one of devout prostration and humility of soul. However, Carlyle held that we should reverence the things of this world not for themselves but for what they stood for. This world was for him but a promise of and preparation for the next. Of his belief in the immortality of the soul, some sentences in Sartor Resartus give conclusive proof. "Is the lost Friend still mysteriously Here, even as we are Here mysteriously, with God!... Know of a truth that only the Time-Shadows have perished, or are perishable, that the real Being of what-ever was, and whatever is, and whatever will be, is even now and forever!"¹

Closely connected with this idea of the divine in the world is Carlyle's doctrine of the divinity of great men. They are a part of the manifestation of God in the world, and are the interpreters to the rest of the world of the law of God. In his lectures on Heroes and Hero Worship he works out these ideas elaborately. Also in one place in Past and Present he states this idea clearly when he says: "In this world there is one godlike thing, the essence of all that was or ever will be of godlike in this world: the veneration done to Human Worth by the hearts of men."² In Sartor Resartus he reiterates the idea of the divinity of men: "But nobler than all in this kind are the lives of heroic, God-inspired men; for what other Work of Art is so divine? In Death too, in the Death of the Just, as the last perfection of a Work of Art, may we not discern symbolic meaning..... In that divinely transfigured Sleep.....read the Confluence of Time and Eternity, and some gleam of the latter peering through..... Highest of all Symbols are those wherein the Artist or Poet has risen into Prophet, and all men can recognize a present God and worship the same..... If

1. Carlyle, Sartor Resartus, 197

2. Carlyle, Past and Present, 231

thou ask to what height man has carried it in this manner, look on one divinest Symbol: on Jesus of Nazareth, and his Life, and his Biography, and what followed thereupon,- Higher has the human Thought not yet reached."¹

The latter quotation shows Carlyle's rejection of the idea of the inspired Christ. Science had made it impossible for Carlyle to believe in the Christian creed. This doubt of the inspired existence of Christ as being historically real is the root of all his spiritual difficulties. If he could have had enough faith to believe in Christ as the Christ, all his troubles would have dissolved. His reason, however, would not let him. Instead of believing that Christianity was something come to save humanity, he took exactly the opposite view, that Christianity was the highest development out of humanity. "Yes, (he exclaimed), the Redeemer liveth. He is no Jew, or image of a man, or surplice, or old creed, but the Unnameable Maker of us, voiceless, formless within one's own soul, whose voice is every noble and generous impulse of our souls. He is yet there, in us and around us, and we are there."²

Froude says Carlyle once spoke to him with loathing of Renan's Life of Jesus. "I asked if he thought a true life could be written. He said, 'Yes, certainly, if it were right to do it; but it is not.'³" This was because Carlyle thought of Christ much as the Unitarians do today- that he was simply the best human being that had ever lived. What makes such a view worthwhile is the hope it holds out to everyone else. If one entirely mortal being has achieved this, why not I? Of course, this view controverts real Christian belief because it does away with inspiration as founded on historical fact. Following out what has been said, one expects as a natural corollary to this, the statement that Carlyle did not believe in the Bible as a work of inspiration. As has been said

1. Carlyle, Sartor Resartus, 168

2. Froude, Thomas Carlyle, History of His Life in London, I, 457

3. Ibid.

before, for the Bible as law-giver and interpreter of God to men, he substituted the lives of great men.

We find, then, that Carlyle rejected Christianity; at least that he excluded from it the idea of Christ as the divine Son of God; that he did, however, believe in God, though not the God of the Trinity, and in Immortality. Though he rejected Christianity as an organ of his religion, we find that he made his belief in God practical through his doctrine of Supernatural Naturalism or Transcendentalism, mentioned before in connection with the divinity of men. He was originally indebted to Goethe for these ideas, but he worked them out and made them his own.

This religion of Goethe's which Carlyle appropriated was a religion of reverence. This meant reverence for God, for man, and for what is beneath man. Carlyle emphasized the worship of great men because their greatness was what made God tangible to lesser mortals. The idea of self-renunciation followed from the deduction that happiness in this life is an impossibility. ¹"The only happiness a brave man troubled himself with asking much about, was happiness enough to get his work done;" is a frequently repeated doctrine. Then, entirely aside from the fact that man must give up the world because happiness is an impossibility, is the idea that man must give up the world because of his duty to his fellow men, and through them, of course, duty to God. The doctrine of work which followed from this of duty was one of the main teachings of Carlyle's religion. He thought of work as divine because it was an expression of man's duty to God. ²"Religion, I said; for properly speaking, all true Work is Religion, and whatsoever Religion is not Work may go and dwell among the Brahmins..... or where it will; with me it shall have no harbour." "Every mortal can do something;

1. Carlyle, Past and Present,
2. Ibid., 193

The first part of the paper discusses the importance of the study and the objectives of the research. It then proceeds to a literature review, followed by a description of the methodology used in the study. The results of the study are presented in the next section, followed by a discussion of the findings and their implications. The paper concludes with a summary of the main points and a list of references.

The study was conducted in a laboratory setting, using a series of experiments to measure the effects of the treatment on the response of the subjects. The results of the experiments are presented in the following tables and figures. The data show that the treatment had a significant effect on the response of the subjects, with the treated group showing a higher response than the control group. This finding is consistent with the hypothesis of the study, which predicted that the treatment would increase the response of the subjects.

The implications of the study are discussed in the next section. The results suggest that the treatment may be useful in the treatment of the condition being studied. Further research is needed to confirm these findings and to determine the optimal dose of the treatment. The study also highlights the need for further research into the mechanisms of action of the treatment, as well as the potential for side effects.

this let him faithfully do, and leave with assured heart, the issue to a Higher Power!"¹

In these ways, then, was Carlyle's religion made practical, through reverence, through self-denial, through duty to man, the nearest duty being the highest, and through work, activity being for Carlyle the same as worship.

This makes Carlyle's religion out as rather implacable, and such it was, especially in analysis without the color of emotion which had a real place in his religion. Matthew Arnold has called Carlyle's religion, "Self-denial touched with Emotion". This tenderer side of his religion has to do with his attitude toward suffering humanity. In his own relations with people Carlyle seems to forget the duty idea. He yearns over people much as Hosea and as Christ did. Nearly everything he wrote is a plea for the downtrodden. In Chartism, he makes the statement, "No man at bottom means injustice, it is always for some obscure, distorted image of a right that he contends."² Could any idea be more divinely generous?

Perhaps it is hardly necessary to remark that Carlyle attended no church. His lack of creed supposes this. Froude explains his attitude: "I tried various chapels; I found in each some vulgar, illiterate man declaiming about matters of which he knew nothing. I tried the Church of England. I found there a decent, educated gentleman reading out of a book words very beautiful which had expressed once the sincere thoughts of pious, admirable souls. I decidedly preferred the Church of England man, but I had to say to him: 'I perceive, Sir, that you know as little about the matter as the other fellow!'"³ Then Froude himself adds, "Thus with the Church of England, too, he had not been able to

1. Carlyle, Critical Essays, (Chartism), 138

2. Ibid., 123

3. Froude, Thomas Carlyle, History of His Life in London, I, 46

connect himself, and as it was the rule of his life not only never to profess what he did not believe, but never by his actions to seem to believe it, he stayed away and went to no place of worship except accidentally."¹

Summing up what has been said, we find that Carlyle rejected every creed, belief in the Trinity, and in the inspiration of Christ and the Bible. He believed in one Supreme God, in immortality, and made his religion practical through his teachings of reverence, self-denial, duty, and work.

To some people Carlyle's may seem a very insufficient and unsatisfying religion; to others it may seem very wonderful. As Leslie Stephen says of him, "Whatever may be thought of Carlyle's teaching, the merits of a preacher must be estimated rather by his stimulus to thought than by the soundness of his conclusions. Measured by such a test Carlyle was unapproached in his day."² However we look at it, his religion was a strong one, the religion of a worker who believed in himself and his message and who accomplished something thereby.

1. Froude, Thomas Carlyle, History of His Life in London, I, 46
2. Dictionary of National Biography, Thomas Carlyle,

II.

THE RELIGIOUS EXPERIENCE OF JOHN STUART MILL

John Stuart Mill, contemporary and friend of Thomas Carlyle, stands out from him in sharp contrast. Their antithesis of disposition, intellect, and attitude toward life, is completed in their religious experiences. This is not to say that because Carlyle had a vital religious experience, Mill had none. The same sincerity, the same indomitable desire to arrive at definite beliefs working in each man as a medium, wrought out in each a different experience, though somewhat the same final belief. Their identity in greatness seems to be the touchstone which reveals their unlikeness in other respects. Yet this identity of greatness probably accounts for the fact that their experiences followed practically the same general outline and brought them finally to practically the same conclusions.

As has been said many times, an understanding of John Stuart Mill demands a previous understanding of his father's system of education. For John Mill was the subject and result of a very peculiar educational experiment. James Mill was more or less extraordinary. He was a man of tremendous energy, as shown by the fact that with his only resource the money derived from writing for periodicals, he married and had a large family, and in addition wrote his colossal work, The History of India. Also he was a man with very decided and often unusual opinions. In his Autobiography John Stuart Mill says: "My father, educated in the creed of Scotch Presbyterianism, had by his own studies and reflections been early led to reject not only belief in Revelation but the foundations of what is commonly called Natural Religion. He found it impossible

to believe that a world so full of evil was the work of an author combining infinite love with perfect goodness and righteousness."¹ Again, "He looked upon it (religion) as the greatest enemy of morality, first, by setting up fictitious excellencies, belief in creeds, devotional feelings, and ceremonies not connected with the good of human kind,- and causing these to be accepted as substitutes for genuine virtues; but above all, by radically vitiating the standard of morals, making it consist in doing the will of a being on whom it lavishes indeed all the phrases of adulation, but whom, in sober truth, it depicts as eminently hateful."² "Think, (he used to say), of a being who would make a Hell,- who would create the human race with the infallible foreknowledge, and therefore with the intention, that the great majority of them were to be consigned to everlasting torment."³

These ideas explain both the type of man the father was and the kind his son became. Because James Mill was a thinker, he wanted his son to become one, and because he recognized certain faults in his own education, he believed that remedying these faults would make his son a greater thinker than he was himself. The method he used was this. He taught the boy himself, beginning very early. In his Autobiography John Mill says, "I have no remembrance of the time when I began to learn Greek; I have been told that it was when I was three years old."⁴ This staggering announcement he follows with a perfectly tremendous list of some of the things he read between the ages of three and eight. It is not necessary to detail all the things Mill studied, nor all the methods the father used to carry out his ideas. It is sufficient to realize that most of the boy's waking hours were spent in absorbing knowledge, and in training his mind to use

1. Mill, Autobiography, 38

2. Ibid., 40

3. Ibid., 41

4. Ibid., 43

that knowledge as machinery with which to think. Such a method could not but produce an unusual product. It might have produced an idiot, but the father's watchful care, sense, and help guided his son's study, thereby preventing that. The method did produce a logically trained mind, a decided bent for thoughtful study, and in the end, a clear, forceful style of writing.

Knowing, then, James Mill's ideas on religion, and also his ideas on education, one might prophesy the religion of the son. When John Mill began to ask the usual "Who made me?" and "Who made God?" of childhood, James Mill, according to his convictions, answered, "I don't know; no one does for a certainty" or words to that effect. At the same time he saw to it that the boy read what people before him had thought on the subject. The result was that John Mill grew up religionless. "I am thus one of the very few examples in this country of one who has, not thrown off religious belief, but never had it: I grew up in a negative state with regard to it. I looked upon the modern exactly as I did upon the ancient religion, as something which in no way concerned me."¹

Mill had been brought up on the ideas of a group of radical thinkers, men with a bent for science and philosophy, whose active efforts were directed towards furthering the interests of the working man. Some of these men were: Jeremy Bentham, Grote, Adam Smith, Malthus, Roebuck, and Bowring. Though they disagreed on many points, their writings showed them to be alike in their mode of thought and in their opinions on many questions. Mill had absorbed their ideas almost unconsciously. Bentham's speculations in Dumont's *Traite' de Législation*, which he read in 1821, were, however, a revelation to him. "The reading of this book was an epoch in my life; one of the turning points in my mental history. My previous education had been, in a certain sense, already a course

1. Mill, Autobiography, 43

of Benthamism. The Benthamic standard of 'the greatest happiness' was that which I had always been taught to apply; I was even familiar with an abstract discussion of it, Yet in the first pages of Bentham it burst upon me with all the force of novelty."¹ "When I laid down the last volume of the Traite, I had become a different being..... The "principle of utility", understood as Bentham understood it, and applied as he applied it through these three volumes, fell exactly into its place as the keystone which held together the detached and fragmentary component parts of my knowledge and beliefs...."² "I now had opinions; a creed, a doctrine, a philosophy; in one, among the best senses of the word, a religion; the inculcation and diffusion of which could be made the principal outward purpose of a life. And I had a grand conception laid before me of changes to be effected in the condition of mankind through that doctrine."³

The philosophy of Bentham's book which thus early affected Mill was later elaborated by him into his essay on Utilitarianism. It is in brief the idea that the thing to be sought for in life is happiness- that happiness is the end of existence. By this happiness Bentham meant, not the selfish kind popularly understood as Epicurean happiness, but the greatest happiness for the greatest number of the people. This, he said, was virtue. Mill himself, though he acknowledged that Epicureanism had become degraded, defended the doctrine in his Utilitarianism, saying that real Epicureans rated mental pleasures far above bodily. He explains this happiness theory thus: "The creed which accepts as the foundation of morals, Utility, or the Greatest Happiness Principle, holds that actions are right in proportion as they tend to promote happiness, wrong as they tend to produce the reverse of happiness."⁴ Self-sacrifice for the happiness of

1. Mill, Autobiography, 64

2. Ibid., 66

3. Ibid., 67

4. Mill, Utilitarianism, 6

someone else was not a virtue unless it actually produced happiness. These ideas, Bentham's then, not Mill's until afterward, made Mill see the world in a new light, gave him a personal goal, the idea of attaining happiness for the greatest number of people possible.

Mill's experience has been described as being consonant with that of joining the church in childhood. It was an act of intellectual consent to the ideas and ideals of a group of people united in a certain worthy purpose. On account of lack of experience, only partial understanding could go along with such an act. It is the experience, not of fine powers of emotional comprehension, but of the faint awakening of some of these powers. Mill's experience was unlike that of most children in one way, however. Less, vague, less emotional, it was more in the nature of an intellectual experience.

Now we have arrived at a point where we can ask, "Was this experience like Carlyle's?" And it is easy to see that it was radically different. As a boy, Carlyle acquired his religion as he did his food and clothing, from his parents, in a perfectly natural way. His first understanding step in regard to his personal religion may be called the beginning of doubt. It was a step away from the religion of his family, a triumph of intellect over natural instinct and emotion. On the other hand, Mill, on account of his father's views, grew up in a negative state in regard to religion; the instinct in him was utterly undeveloped. His first experience was the taking of the religion, (perhaps better call it the ideal), of Bentham; that is, the betterment of the condition of the working classes according to this philosophy. Both Mill's and Carlyle's experiences were intellectual rather than emotional, but Mill's was a taking on, while Carlyle's was a giving up.

It was in 1821 that Mill read the Traite'. During the next five years, his time was spent in following out the line of thought and action begun by his

inspiration from Bentham's book. He read another work of Bentham's which deepened the influence of the first. This was Analysis of the Influence of Natural Religion on the Temporal Happiness of Mankind. In the winter of 1822-3 he formed the plan of the Utilitarian Society, "to be composed of young men agreeing in fundamental principles- acknowledging Utility as their standard in ethics and politica."¹ About this time he began to write in the newspapers. He contributed to several, principally the Westminster Review, which paper was founded as an organ for the "Philosophic Radicals". In politics these men stood for representative government and complete freedom of discussion. According to John S. Mill the nucleus of the group was his father. Most of the articles the young Mill wrote were reviews of books on history and political economy, or discussions on special political topics, as corn laws, game laws, laws of libel."² What time and energy Mill did not spend as Clerk in the office of Examiner of India Correspondence in the East India Company, ran, during these five years, in strictly intellectual channels.

Of himself he says something in his Autobiography which explains perfectly his attitude toward life at this time: "I conceive that the description so often given of a Benthamite, as a mere reasoning machine, though extremely inapplicable to most of those who have been designated by that title, was during two or three years of my life not altogether untrue of me.....Ambition and desire of distinction I had in abundance; and zeal for what I thought the good of mankind was my strongest sentiment, mixing with and colouring all others. But my zeal was as yet little else, at that period of my life, than zeal for speculative opinions. It had not its root in genuine benevolence, or sympathy with mankind; though these qualities held their due place in my ethical standards."³

1. Mill, Autobiography, 79

2. Ibid., 97

3. Ibid., 109

Mere human, egoistic desire to be different is not enough to explain away these statements of Mill's. He was too discriminating a judge of himself, as well as of other people and things, to delude himself; and, moreover, the facts of his life bear out his statements.

To one who does not know the facts of Mill's life and who judges only from the material so far given in this paper, the statement that he was a man of deep, strong feelings may come as a surprise. That such was the case, the story of his life beginning with the winter of 1826 makes clear. His own natural reserve, combined with the effect of his father's system of education, had hidden his emotional nature so deeply that he seemed to possess none. He had become what he calls a reasoning machine, in the face of nature rather than in accordance with it. Later he recognized more and more what he lacked. A reluctant criticism of his father's method, in the Autobiography, finds fuller expression in a conversation between Mill and Caroline Fox in 1840, in which he said, "I never was a boy, never played at cricket; it is better to let nature have her own way."¹

Up to 1826, however, Mill had never felt this lack. He had thought he was, and doubtless he was, perfectly happy. "From the winter of 1821, when I first read Bentham, and especially from the commencement of the Westminster Review, I had what might truly be called an object in life; to be a reformer of the world. My conception of my own happiness was entirely identified with this object."² Now all this was changed. This intellectual ideal no longer served to make him happy because the emotional side of his nature began to struggle for expression. He explains his state of mind in the chapter in his Autobiography which he calls "A Crisis in My Mental History". "I was in a dull state of nerves, such as everybody is occasionally liable to; one of those moods when what is pleasure at other times, becomes insipid or indifferent; the state I should

1. Caroline Fox, Memories of Old Friends, 85

2. Mill, Autobiography, 132

think, in which converts to Methodism usually are when smitten by their first 'conviction of sin'. In this frame of mind it occurred to me to put the question directly to myself: 'Suppose that all your objects in life were realized; that all the changes in institutions and opinions which you are looking forward to, could be completely effected at this very instant: would this be a great joy and happiness to you?' And an irrepressible self-consciousness distinctly answered, 'No!'the whole foundation on which my belief was constructed fell down. All my happiness was to have been found in the pursuit of this end. The end had ceased to charm, and how could there ever again be any interest in the means? I seemed to have nothing left to live for."¹

Like most human beings, Mill was a compound. To make a rounded character and personality, feeling and intellect must balance each other. Intellect had dominated the first twenty years of his life. Feeling was now asserting itself, and all the more strongly on account of repression. He knew that sympathy with other people, with the good of mankind in general, was a sure source of happiness. Having lost this feeling, he did not know how to acquire it. When he needed it most, to form his own character, Bentham's philosophy failed him.

The pathetic part about Mill's experience was his absolute helplessness in the face of its coming suddenly and forcibly upon him. On account of the kind of life he had led, he had nothing in his past experience even remotely like it with which to connect and compare it and so perhaps get the satisfaction of knowing that he might recover from it. If only in his past, his imagination had had a chance, this sudden shock of imaginative insight into his future might not have had such disastrous results. There is an undercurrent of plaintive longing for love and sympathy in this chapter. He says if he had loved anyone

1. Mill, Autobiography, 133, 134

enough to tell him or her his troubles, he would not have been suffering from such a malady. Besides, he was somewhat ashamed of his distress. It seemed to him neither interesting or respectable.

This crisis in Mill's life is like Carlyle's experience in Sartor Resartus, represented by "the Everlasting No". The same idea of revolt against things, of inquiry into the meaning and use of life permeates both. This feeling is perhaps best named by the German word, "Weltschmerz", which means more than the translation, "world sorrow" or "world pain". "Weltschmerz", first made articulate in Goethe's Die Leiden des Jungen Werthers', is a typical nineteenth century feeling and experience. It is a feeling which precedes and oftentimes leads to suicide. Carlyle says Teufelsdröckh did not commit suicide because of a certain indolence of character, because he could always have resource to that means of putting an end to his troubles. Mill says, "I frequently asked myself if I could, or if I was bound to go on living, when life must be passed in this manner",¹ showing that the idea of suicide had occurred to him also. The obvious reason why he did not take his life immediately was the habit he had formed under his father's system. "I had been so drilled in a certain sort of mental exercise that I could still carry it on when all the spirit had gone out of it."²

Release from these mental and spiritual difficulties came unexpectedly after about six months passed in this painful way. It came on the occasion of a seemingly very trivial incident. "I was reading accidentally Marmontel's Memoires, and came to the passage which relates his father's death, the distressed position of the family, and the sudden inspiration by which he, a mere boy, felt and made them feel that he would be everything to them,- would supply the place of all they had lost. A vivid conception of the scene and its feelings came over me,

1. Mill, Autobiography, 140

2. Ibid., 139

and I was moved to tears. From this moment my burden grew lighter. The oppression of the thought that all feeling was dead within me, was gone. I was no longer hopeless: I was not a stock or a stone."¹

After this he could again find interest and pleasure in Nature, books, conversation, and in exerting himself for the public good,- thus outwardly, at any rate, coming back to his normal way of life. The experience had in reality made a big difference with him, however, for it had changed his theory of life.

"I never, indeed, wavered in the conviction that happiness is the test of all rules of conduct, and the end of life. But I now thought that this end was only to be attained by not making it the direct end..... The only chance is to treat, not happiness, but some end external to it, as the purpose of life."²

The other change in his theory of life is in regard to what he calls the "internal culture of the individual." "The cultivation of the feelings became one of the cardinal points in my ethical and philosophical creed."³

Someone may wonder what this has to do with religion and that leads to the question of what religion is. Does personal religion, to be real religion, have to be connected with a church? To define religion lies far beyond the powers of the writer of this paper. William James, in his Varieties of Religious Experience, treats only personal religion, and names as attributes of it, enthusiasm in solemn emotion and the ability to overcome unhappiness. He says that personal religion may manifest itself in almost any number of different ways.

John Stuart Mill says of his experience: "For though my dejection, honestly looked at, could not be called other than egotistical, produced by the ruin, as I thought, of my fabric of happiness, yet the destiny of mankind in general was ever in my thoughts, and could not be separated from my own. I felt that the

1. Mill, Autobiography, 140

2. Ibid., 142

3. Ibid., 143

flaw in my life must be a flaw in life itself."¹ This concern of Mill's for the destiny of mankind is identical with Carlyle's, and both are altruistic, though arrived at through an egoistic experience. That he who forgets himself in the acceptance of the service of humanity will find happiness by the way, is only and application of Jesus' words, "He who loses himself for my sake shall find it."

To imply that Mill passed through the period of depression and reached a state of certainty about the goodness of the Universe, with no return of "Weltschmerz" would be false. The feeling of disgust with the world and sorrow for the state of man returned to him again and again, especially between the years 1826 and 1840. In a letter to Sterling in 1829 he wrote: "Do not suppose me to mean that I am conscious at present of any tendency to misanthropy, although among the various states of mind, some of them extremely painful ones, through which I have passed during the last three years, something distantly approaching to misanthropy was one. At present I believe that my sympathies with society, which were never strong, are on the whole stronger than they ever were."² This may sound exaggerated, but it was no doubt the record of one out of many and various states of mind through which he passed. In 1833 we find him writing to Carlyle: "I am often in a state almost of scepticism, and have no theory of Human Life at all, or seem to have conflicting theories, or a theory which does not amount to belief. This is only a recent state, and as I well know, a passing one."³

After the episode of 1826 when Mill found relief in tears, and the intellectual wall around his emotional nature was broken through, he found a good deal of comfort in Wordsworth's poetry. It seemed to play a great part,

1. Mill, Autobiography, 145

2. The Letters of John Stuart Mill, I, 2

3. Ibid., I, 148

by interpreting himself to himself, in his new theory of life. "What made Wordsworth's poems a medicine for my state of mind, was that they expressed, not mere outward beauty, but states of feeling, and of thought coloured by feeling, under the excitement of beauty. They seemed to be the very culture of the feelings, which I was in quest of..... From them I seemed to learn what would be the perennial sources of happiness, when all the greater evils of life shall have been removed."¹ After reading Wordsworth, he found himself in sympathy with Goethe, Coleridge, and Carlyle.

Caroline Fox's Journal gives some entries in 1840 which show how Mill appeared to other people during this time of inner regeneration. "Last night John Mill sat for hours.....expatiating on the delights of John Woolman and on spiritual religion, which he feels to be deepest and truest."² "Dr. Calvert, in speaking of the great humility compatible with high metaphysical research, spoke of John Mill standing on one side, and himself on the other, of his brother's deathbed. Dr. Calvert remarked, 'This sort of scene puts an end to Reason, and Faith begins.' The other emphatically answered, 'Yes'; the conversation which followed displaying such humility and deep feeling as, coming from the first metaphysician of the age, was most edifying."³ "It is a new thing for John Mill to sympathise with religious characters; some years since, he had so imbibed the errors which his father instilled into him, as to be quite a bigot against religion. Sterling thinks he was never in so good a state as now."⁴

In spite of the big difference in the way a reading of the two impresses the reader, it is plain that Mill's experience really was very like Carlyle's. As each one grew intellectually, each worked toward a time when a vital change took place in him. This change was such that, striking at the found-

1. Mill, Autobiography, 148

2. Caroline Fox, Memories of Old Friends, 82

3. Ibid., 83

4. Ibid., 111

ation on which each had built his life, it left him absolutely unpropped, with no faith at all for a time. Then each came gradually to a new faith, and as shall be shown, the new belief which Mill took on, resembled Carlyle's in many vital respects. Carlyle seems to have come to more positive beliefs than Mill, but perhaps it is only a more positively expressed yearning for belief. It is certain that one part of Carlyle doubted until the end of his life. Mill seemed to feel that he and Carlyle were alike in many ways. The great difference in their religious experiences is in the way they are expressed, Carlyle's through emotion, Mill's through repression of emotion. If Carlyle's religion is "self-denial touched with emotion, Mill's, then, is self-denial minus emotion.

It remains to examine Mill's final conclusions, and perhaps the best way to approach these is through his discussion of religion in his Auguste Comte and Positivism. Here he says: "Though conscious of being in an extremely small minority, we venture to think that a religion may exist without belief in a God, and that religion without a God may be, even to Christians, an instructive and profitable object of contemplation."¹ This implies that Mill did not believe in God, which seems incompatible with the idea of having a religion. In 1834 in a letter to Carlyle, Mill said: "The first and principal of these differences is that I have only what appears to you much the same thing as, or even worse than, no God at all,- namely, a merely probable God. By probable..... I mean that the existence of a Creator is not to me a matter of faith or of intuition; and as a proposition to be proved by evidence, it is but a hypothesis, the proofs of which, as you I know agree with me, do not amount to absolute certainty."²

1. Mill, Auguste Comte and Positivism, 133

2.

This idea of God, held by Mill when he was twenty-eight years old, was maintained by him consistently throughout his life. The Essay on Nature explains the impossibility, on account of the evil in the world, of naming the Creator at once omnipotent and benevolent. He says that the doctrine, "Whatever is, is right" is not only stupid but evil because false; and he concludes with the idea that it is best to think of God as benevolent, rather than omnipotent and evil,- better to think of Him as a benevolent Being, limited by His material or something of the kind, Who nevertheless created in such a way that perfect good may be the final outcome, provided man does his part. In the Essay on Utility of Religion he says: "It is perfectly possible that religion may be morally useful without being intellectually sustainable."¹ He takes up the various arguments which are used to prove the existence of God, dwelling especially on the teleological one which shows design in the things created. For instance, it is hardly possible to imagine the delicate mechanism of the eye as coming to its perfection through natural selection or a like process. The argument that some people advance, that the presence in man of an instinct toward God is proof of the existence of a God to satisfy that instinct, he strikes at by saying that the reason for the necessity of religion to human nature is, "the small limits of man's certain knowledge, and the boundlessness of his desire to know."² Conscience, he asserts, is usually nothing but public opinion. In brief the essays show, that though the evidence at hand is in favour of such a conclusion, man and nature do not exhibit positive proof as to the existence of a Creator. His attitude is that of a person who desires to believe, yet whose intellect will not consent.

Consonant with his idea of God are the rest of Mill's theological ideas. Extracts from his letters show how he looked upon Christianity. ".....until the

1. Mill, Three Essays on Religion, (Utility) 73

2. Ibid., 102

time comes when one can speak of Christianity as it may be spoken of in France, - as by far the greatest and best thing which has existed on this globe, but which is gone, never to return, only what is best to reappear in another and still higher form, ¹Sometime." "How clearly one can trace in all of them (the Gospels) the gradual rise of his conviction that he was the Messiah; and how much loftier and more self-devoted a tone his whole language and conduct assumed as soon as he was convinced of that. ²"To you I need scarcely point out that the special characteristic of Christianity as opposed to most other religions, is that it insists that religion does affect this world, making charity to one's fellow-creatures, and good actions the criterion of a good man. ³"According to Mill, nowhere in the Gospels does Christ make the statement that belief in the divine mission of Christ is a necessary condition to salvation. His attitude, as he says, is one of reverence toward Christ, reverence felt for the greatness and goodness of his life and work. The reason he does not believe in the divinity of Christ is that sufficient evidence does not exist to prove that divinity.

As to miracles, the closing paragraph of a letter to Joseph Napier in 1862 gives his opinion better than anything which can be deducted from it. "My view of the general question is briefly this: that a miracle, considered merely as an extraordinary fact, is as susceptible of proof as other extraordinary facts: that, as a miracle, it cannot in a strict sense be proved, because there can never be conclusive proofs of its miraculous nature; but that to anyone who already believed in an intelligent Creator and Ruler of the Universe, the moral probability that a given extraordinary event (supposed to be fully proved) is a miracle, may greatly outweigh the probability of its being the result of some unknown natural cause." ⁴

1. The Letters of John Stuart Mill, I, 68

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid., II, 144

4. Ibid., I, 270

Immortality is discussed in the last pages of the Essay on Utility of Religion. Here he says that the advantage supernatural religion has over the religion of humanity is the prospect of life after death. However, he goes on to say that the reason man desires life after death is that he is dissatisfied with the result of his present one; and that as mankind improves, it will therefore care less and less for this expectation. He continues by saying that those who believe in the immortality of the soul usually quit life with as much reluctance as those who do not. Though he felt, then, no assurance of immortality, he nevertheless desired it for himself, as a letter to his friend Sterling shows: "I have never so much wished for another life as I do for the sake of meeting you in it. The chief reason for desiring it has always seemed to me to be that the curtain may not drop altogether on those one loves and honours."¹

Of the church Mill had not a very flattering opinion. He thought it fast on the road to destruction, because sectarianism creates bitterness. In 1831 he wrote: ".....I have now no doubt of his being a useful, forceful, and constantly improving member of the only Church which has now any real existence, - namely, that of writers and orators;"² and in 1834: ".....now he has become compacted and adjusted, and, like all Carlyle's disciples, has become a sort of Conservative and Churchman; he is going into Orders, but will not keep upon terms with any lie, notwithstanding; he is able, which is happy for him that he is, still to believe Christianity without doing violence to his understanding, and that therefore not being, to his mind, false in the smallest particle, he can and does denounce all which he recognizes as false, in the speculation or practice of those among whom he is about to find himself."³ What he says of Sterling applies in exactly the opposite way to himself. He could not believe Christianity

1. The Letters of John Stuart Mill, I, 127

2. Ibid., I, 18

3. Ibid., I, 99

without being false to his understanding. Under such conditions Church was a mere hollow form - and so, because he was a follower of truth always, he associated himself with no church.

This does away with that in which Mill put no faith. His positive philosophy is expressed well in his Auguste Comte and Positivism where he says: "What, in truth, are the conditions necessary to constitute a religion? There must be a creed, or conviction, claiming authority over the whole of human life; a belief, or set of beliefs, deliberately adopted, respecting human destiny and duty, to which the believer inwardly acknowledges that all his actions ought to be subordinate. Moreover, there must be a sentiment connected with this creed, or capable of being invoked by it, sufficiently powerful to give it in fact, the authority over human conduct to which it lays claim in theory..... It has been said that whoever believes in 'the Infinite Nature of Duty,' even if he believe in nothing else, is religious."¹

The idea embodied in the above, which Mill named the Religion of Humanity, or the Religion of Duty, was the one which he came to hold as his religion. Nearly everything he wrote has as a basic idea the wish to ameliorate the condition of mankind. We can see it especially in Utilitarianism, Liberty, Representative Government, and The Subjection of Women. This really inspirational, though human, religion was a very vital part of Mill's life. It was not only the life of what he wrote, but the ever-present, guiding principle of his life. His sympathy with young and struggling authors, his hatred of anything which tended to take away from the freedom of any person, his unswerving high moral conduct, and unselfish, untiring work all testify to more than mere morality. Many have thought that Mill was essentially a religious man. His life is an almost

1. Mill, Auguste Comte and Positivism, 133

perfect example of a Christian life,- if humility, self-abnegation, and all the virtues previously mentioned constitute such a life. And if conduct is not the test,- what, then, is? As Mill might say, "As far as we know", conduct is.

III.

THE RELIGIOUS EXPERIENCE OF HARRIET MARTINEAU

Harriet Martineau's experience presents an interesting study in connection with those of Carlyle and Mill, both because she had a vital religious experience which followed somewhat the same lines as theirs, and because she lived at the same time they did and knew them. Her fame, like Mill's, has passed with the passing of the century. Like Mill's, too, though her mind was not so great as his, was her tremendous influence on the people of her time. To say that her experience was like those of Carlyle and Mill names it as unusual. In a woman of the nineteenth, or any other, century, it was remarkable. It is good to know that a woman of that time possessed spiritual and intellectual potentialities which responded to the influences of the time in the same way as did those of Carlyle and Mill.

To say that Harriet Martineau's religious longings and aspirations began very early is to speak the literal truth. She was sick and weakly almost from birth, a condition which probably accentuated the religious tendency in her, for she had no high animal spirits to react against her morbid, brooding, little mind. When she was slightly over two years of age, she was sent to a farm at Carleton in the hope that she might become stronger. The Mr. and Mrs. Merton who lived on the farm were melancholy Calvinists, and Harriet Martineau writes that she came home, "the absurdest little preacher of my years that ever was".¹ Probably the youngest preacher known to history, she was nevertheless a model one, for she never bored her hearers with a lengthy discourse, as two of

1. Martineau, Autobiography, I, 9

her sermons, "Never ky for t~~ry~~files", and "Dooty fust and pleasure afterwards", testify. When she was four years old, she was "getting some comfort from religion by this time. The Sundays began to be marked days, and pleasantly marked, on the whole..... My idea of Heaven was of a place gay with yellow and lilac crocuses."¹ Records like this and, "I am certain that I cared more for religion before and during that summer (when she was seven) than for anything else",² can strike the reader with nothing but pity, for they show ~~the reader~~ that she was a very unhappy little girl.

The fact was that she was an extraordinarily sensitive child and had, to use her own words of later years, "an unbounded need of approbation and affection".³ The proper treatment might have made a very different person of her, but her family had the idea that rigid discipline was the only effective means to use in rearing children, and her mother took no pains to understand this ugly duckling. Under such conditions the thoughtless bullying of the older children amounted to persecution, and the child brooded over her injuries to such an extent that she contemplated suicide. "No doubt there was much vindictiveness in it. I gloated over the thought that I would make somebody care about me in some sort of way at last; and, as to my reception in the other world, I felt sure that God could not be very angry with me for making haste to Him when nobody else cared for me, and so many people plagued me."⁴ Some circumstance or other prevented her getting the carving knife on this occasion, and the desire dwindled away. Somewhat akin to this desire for suicide was her longing to be carried up through the octagon-shaped windows in the chapel, to Heaven in the sight of all the congregation.

1. Martineau, Autobiography, I, 13

2. Ibid., I, 14

3. Ibid., I, 15

4. Ibid., I, 14

The child feared everyone but God. This fear obscured her moral judgement. Her conscience was absolutely no good to her, and she feared evil consequences from everything she did because her fear kept her from knowing what could be considered good and what bad. She tells several stories about herself which illustrate this timidity.

Along with this queer atrophy of moral judgement went, paradoxically, a real sensitiveness to moral values. What she says about praying in chapel proves this. It seems that it was impossible for her to pray while there. "I prayed abundantly when I was alone; but it was impossible for me to do it in any other way; and the hypocrisy of appearing to do so was a long and sore trouble to me."¹ This was when she was only five.

When she was seven years old, she made a trip to Newcastle which, she says, divided her childhood into two definite periods. After her return she became "a responsible being", "took moral charge of myself".² Her experience at Newcastle made her religion practical to her. Anne Turner, the daughter of the family where Harriet Martineau visited, had an appreciable ^{influence} on her in this direction, encouraging her to confession and morning and nightly prayer. At tea Sunday evenings they would write recollections of one of the sermons of the day. It was also the custom to sing hymns with their delicate, gentle Aunt Mary. Miss Martineau says she felt a great awe of clergymen and a yearning towards them for notice at this time. Of this feeling she writes: "No doubt there was much vanity in this; but it was also one investment of the religious sentiment, as I know of my being at times conscious of a remnant of the feeling now, while radically convinced that the intellectual and moral judgement of priests of all persuasions is inferior to that of any other order of men."³ It was also when she was seven

1. Martineau, Autobiography, I, 17

2. Ibid., I, 22

3. Ibid., I, 25

that Harriet Martineau had her first experience of "moral relief through intellectual resource."¹ The occasion was a reading of Paradise Lost, and this book became her constant companion. She even learned most of it by heart.

The preceding is probably sufficient to show that as a child Miss Martineau was violently religious, and that her religion took a very morbid turn. When eleven or twelve years of age, this young philosopher became involved in theological difficulties. Her parents were Unitarians, and she had naturally become one along with them. What began to bother her at eleven, and harassed her for years, was that the Unitarians had no fitting treatment for the burdensome troubles of conscience. She could not reconcile her theology with her practical life. One evening at this time she was walking with her older brother, Thomas, and she propounded to him her difficulty, "how, if God foreknew everything, we could be blamed or rewarded for our conduct, which was thus absolutely settled beforehand."² Evidently brother Thomas could not explain, for he put her off by saying she was not old enough to know. This refusal to answer made her remember the question. When she was fifteen, and, as she names it, "in the height of my religious fanaticism",³ she was still in doubt about it. Along with showing her theological difficulties, the following lets the spirit of the real Harriet Martineau shine through. It was at the time of the death of Lord Byron, and she wanted to pray for him yet felt that it was not a logical thing for a Unitarian to do. "I remember putting away all doubts about the theological propriety of praying for his soul. Many times a day, and with my whole heart, did I pray for his soul."⁴ About this time she went to Bristol where she came under the influence of Dr. Carpenter, a Unitarian minister, who made her

1. Martineau, Autobiography, I, 32

2. Ibid., I, 33

3. Ibid., I, 63

4. Ibid.

"desperately superstitious,- living wholly in and for religion, and fiercely fanatical about it."¹

It is clear that the religion of the first nineteen years of Harriet Martineau's life did, as she said, take the character of her mind. It was harsh, mournful-, and this not like her mind- inadequate. Yet even so, it was a great comfort to her. She gives in her Autobiography a summary of her religious belief up to the age of twenty. "My religious belief up to the age of twenty was briefly this: I believed in a God, milder and more beneficent and passionless than the God of the orthodox, inasmuch as he would not doom any of his creatures to eternal torment. I did not at any time, I think, believe in the Devil, but understood the Scriptures to speak of Sin under that name, and of eternal detriment under the name of punishment. I believed in estimable and eternal rewards of holiness;..... The doctrine of forgiveness on repentance never availed me much, because forgiveness for the past was nothing without safety in the future; and my sins were not curable, I felt, by any single remission of their consequences,- if such remission were possible..... I do not remember the time when the forgiveness clause in the Lord's Prayer was not a perplexity and a stumbling-block to me..... My belief in Christ was that he was the purest of all beings, under God; and his sufferings for the sake of mankind made him as sublime in my view and my affections as any being could possibly be. The Holy Ghost was a mere fiction to me. I took all the miracles for facts, and contrived to worship the letter of the Scriptures long after I had, as desired, given up portions as 'spurious', 'interpolations', and so forth. I believed in a future life as a continuation of the present, and not as a new method of existence; and from the time when I saw that the resurrection of the body and the

1. Martineau, Autobiography, I, 73

immortality of the sôul could not both be true, I adhered to the former,- after Saint Paul."¹

This concludes the story of the first period of Harriet Martineau's religious life, the period when she was a Unitarian, an unusually speculative one it is true, yet a real one, as the preceding discussion of her beliefs shows. This period of her religious life corresponds to the first in Carlyle's, in that each had an ardent faith like that of their parents. Carlyle's was more matter-of-fact and usual than Harriet Martineau's. This was due, possibly, to several reasons. Her questioning attitude developed earlier than his, because her family were Unitarians while his were Presbyterians. And yet, her religion was at the same time more fervent and fanatical than his because of her ill health and the morbid condition of her mind. The difference in intensity was also probably due to the fact that religion usually makes a more vital early appeal to girls than to boys. In the main, however, this phase is identical in these two and not at all like the same period in Mill's life.

As the first period of Harriet Martineau's religious life was one of mingled belief and doubt, with belief predominating,- the second, when she was only nominally a Unitarian, was one of belief and doubt with doubt predominating. This second phase of her religious experience is identical with not only the same period in Carlyle's life, but also in that of Mill. The element of similarity is concern for the suffering of humanity. The desperate condition of the working classes was to them the existence-of-evil-in-the-world problem in the concrete and appealed to them as a stumbling-block in the path of faith.

The thing which evolves as dominant from the study of the second phase of Harriet Martineau's religious experience is that it lasted for an unusual

1. Martineau, Autobiography, I, 31

length of time. The period of depression with both Carlyle and Mill was more sudden and more painful as well as much shorter than it was with Miss Martineau. The latter was very loath to lose her religion and gave it up only by degrees. Her Autobiography is a record of this wish to believe, in conflict with her sense of truth and right.

From the time that she was eleven years old, when she asked her brother about foreknowledge and free will, Harriet Martineau had brooded over that problem. Something said in her presence about the doctrine of necessity caused her to look for a solution in the latter direction. The conception of general laws and principles at work in the Universe without the interference of man, gradually forced itself in upon her. She came to see that "All human action proceeds on the supposition that all the workings of the Universe are governed by laws which cannot be broken by human will."¹ Yet it was hard for her to let go the notion of a special providence, and her new philosophy struggled for a long time with her theology. For one thing, however, her idea of prayer began to change. "Not knowing what was good for me, and being sure that every external thing would come to pass just the same whether I liked it or not, I ceased to desire and, therefore, to pray for anything external,- whether 'daily bread', or life for myself or others, or anything whatever but spiritual good. There, I for a long time drew the line."²

For over twenty years the conflict continued. At the same time that she was giving up her practice of prayer, Miss Martineau was writing her essays presenting Unitarianism to Catholic Jews and Mohammedans. The latter seem to show that she still clung to her faith; yet the very next year, when she had, as she says, "now plunged fairly into the spirit of my time,- that of self an-

1. Martineau, Autobiography, I, 85

2. Ibid., 87

alysis, pathetic self pity, typical interpretation of objective matters and scheme-making, in the name of God and Man"¹, she ~~she~~ wondered that the Unitarians did not see that she was "one of those merely nominal Christians who refuse whatever they see to be impossible, absurd, or immoral in the scheme or the records of Christianity, and pick out and appropriate what they like..... I had already ceased to be an Unitarian in the technical sense. I was now one in the dreamy way of metaphysical accommodation, and on the ground of dissent from every other form of Christianity: the time was approaching when, if I called myself so at all, it was only in the free-thinking sense. Then came a few years during which I remonstrated with Unitarians in vain against being claimed by them, which I considered even more injurious to them than to me."²

The journal Miss Martineau kept while she was in America, nearly every day's entry of which ends with the words, "Read the New Testament", the benefit she effected by her Illustrations of Political Economy, and her own self-sacrificing life testify to her practical virtue. She was in every vital way as "religious" as ever, at the same time that she was losing her creed and separating herself from her church. Her book, Life in the Sick Room, a series of essays written in 1843 when she was very ill at Tynemouth, illustrates well her mental and spiritual state at this time. In spite of the reverential tone of the book, a spirit of unrest and yearning for conviction pervades it. She concludes one essay with these words: "The most fitting sick-room aspiration is to attain to a trusting carelessness as to what becomes of our poor dear selves, while we become more and more engrossed by the vast interests which our Father is conducting within our view, from the birdie which builds under our eaves, to the gradual gathering of the nations toward the fold of Christ, or

1. Martineau, Autobiography, I, 119

2. Ibid., 120

the everlasting hills."¹ This shows her torn state of mind. The first part of the sentence, which sounds like an idea of Carlyle's or Mill's clothed in different words, looks toward the change in her views, while the reference to "our Father" indicates the religion of her childhood. There is no advantage in heaping up quotations to illustrate this period of her life. She sums it up herself in one short sentence in her Autobiography: "..... if I had already found the supports of philosophy on relinquishing the selfish complacencies of religion, I should have borne my troubles with strength and ease."²

The years 1839 to 1844, Harriet Martineau says, mark "the transition from religious inconsistency and irrationality to free thinking strength and liberty."³ This seems odd in view of the fact that the essays in Life in the Sick Room were written in 1843. The fact was that her ideas were clearing up without her realization of the fact. 1844 seems to have been the year when ideas that had lain dormant in her mind for some time, became articulate. Of this time she says, "I now began to obtain glimpses of the conclusion which at present seems to me so simple that it is a marvel why I waited for it so long; that it is possible that we human beings, with our mere human faculty, may not understand the scheme or nature or fact of the Universe! I saw that no revelation can by possibility set men right on these matters, for want of faculty in man to understand anything beyond human ken."⁴

Miss Martineau's trip to the East, when she visited Egypt, Sinai, Palestine, and Syria, was a further help in extricating her from "the debris of the theological."⁵ She writes of this trip in her Autobiography, "The result of the whole, when considered in the quiet of my study, was that I obtained

1. Martineau, Life in the Sick Room, 195

2. Martineau, Autobiography, I, 443

3. Ibid., I, 466

4. Ibid., I, 468

5. Ibid., I, 459

clearness as to the historical nature and moral value of all theology whatever, and attained that new idea of it which has been set forth in some of my subsequent works."¹ This view was substantially the following. She saw clearly and in a way she had not before dreamed possible, that the Christian religion is but a link in the chain of all the religions of the world. In her Eastern Life she says, "I can imagine no experience more suggestive to the thoughtful traveler, anywhere from pole to pole, than that of looking with a clear eye and a fresh mind on the ecclesiastical sculptures of Egypt, perceiving, as such an one must do, how abstract and how lofty were the first ideas of Deity known to exist in the world..... And the more he traces downwards the history and philosophy of religious worship, the more astonished he will be to find to what an extent this early theology originated later systems of belief and adoration, and how long and how far it has transcended some of those which arose out of it."² The idea that each religion evolved out of one or several ~~or several~~ preceding, each one best for the people of the time in which it arose, none of them perfect, seemed to satisfy her conscience in regard to her doubts as to the sufficiency of the Christian religion. She saw that it might be best for some people, perhaps the great majority, to believe it, yet that it was but the religion of a time and a people, and might and very probably would give way to a future one.

Miss Martineau says her severance from the Unitarians was complete and final when she wrote Eastern Life. She had by that time repudiated all theology. However, there was yet one more step in her emancipation from doubts and difficulties. It was more in the nature of confirmation of views which she had already reached by herself, than anything absolutely new. This help came through her intellectual intimacy with Mr. Atkinson. Her acquaintance with him

1. Martineau, Autobiography, I, 538

2. Martineau, Eastern Life, Present and Past, 116

had begun in 1845. Of this first meeting Miss Martineau says: ".....he astonished and somewhat confounded me by saying how great he thought the mistake of thinking so much and so artificially as people are forever striving to do about death and about living again. Not having yet by any means got out of the atmosphere of selfishness which is the very life of Christian doctrine, and of every theological scheme, I was amazed at his question, I asked what could possibly signify so much,- being in a fluctuating state then as to the natural grounds of expectation of a future life, (I had long given up the Scriptural), but being still totally blind to the selfish instincts involved in such anxiety as I felt about the matter."¹ However, before long she came to think of this as a logical and true conclusion to not considering Christianity a scheme of Salvation. "Amidst many alterations of feeling, I soon began to enjoy breathings of the blessed air of freedom from superstition,- which is the same thing as freedom from personal anxiety and selfishness; that freedom, under a vivid sense of which my friend and I, contrasting our superstitious youth with our emancipated maturity, agreed that not for the Universe would we again have the care of our souls upon our hands."²

Her real association with him, from which resulted The Laws of Man's Nature and Development, did not begin until 1847 when, after her journey to the East, she wrote to him about her book, Eastern Life, asking whether or not "honesty required that I should avow the total extent of my dissent from the world's theologies."³ She includes the letter in her Autobiography; "I give it here that it may be seen how my passage from theology to a more effectual philosophy was, in its early stages, entirely independent of Mr. Atkinson's influence. It is true, these letters exhibit a very early stage of conviction,-

1. Martineau, Autobiography, I, 493

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid., I, 539

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before ¹ I had attained firmness and clearness, and while a large leaven of the old anxiety and obscurity remained. I was, as Mr. Atkinson said, out of the old ways; and he was about to show me the shortest way round the corner."¹

It may appear that this whole process was a pleasant one to Miss Martineau, as if she were casting off her faith much as she might old or soiled garments, but it was not done in that spirit. Her religion had meant a great deal to her, and even now after she had doubted all these years, to cut herself loose from her last hold to her old faith meant a desperate wrench. She expresses this feeling in a letter to Mr. Atkinson when she says, "Do you not feel strangely alone in your views of the highest subjects? I do..... for this reason,- that I could not, if I tried, communicate to anyone the feeling that I have that the theological belief of almost everybody in the civilized world is baseless."² The most important thing about these letters was the method, for that showed the complete departure from theology. It was the method of evolution, external, positive, inductive.

The last phase of Miss Martineau's religious experience was more like Mill's than it was like Carlyle's. Both she and Mill rejected all theology, though Miss Martineau did it more thoroughly, at least more violently than did Mill. Carlyle describes the process with Miss Martineau as "..... not only stripping herself naked, but stripping herself to the bone."³ Giving up all religion seemed a horrible process to him; he could not realize that Miss Martineau was happier after she had done it, mentally and spiritually more at ease than she had been ever before in her whole life. This third phase has one element of similarity in regard to all three of these people, however; all three

1. Martineau, Autobiography, I, 539

2. Ibid., I, 541

3. Littel's Living Age, 152, 69

came to the conclusion that concern for themselves, even spiritually, was selfish. Carlyle's impassioned declarations that self-renunciation is man's only salvation, his "work is worship", Mill's "infinite nature of duty", "the religion of humanity", Harriet Martineau's disregard of herself in her interest in common humanity, all are synonymous.

The final conclusions to which Harriet Martineau came in regard to religion, she sums up in a letter to Mr. Atkinson in 1847. "I feel a most reverential sense of something wholly beyond our apprehension. Here we are, in the Universe! this is all we know: and while we feel ourselves in this isolated position, with obscurity before and behind, we must feel that there is something above and beyond us. If that Something were God, (as people mean by that word, and I am confident it is not) he would consider those of us the noblest who must have evidence in order to believe;- who can wait to learn, rather than rush into supposition. As for the whole series of Faiths, my present studies would have been enough, if I had not been prepared before, to convince me that all forms of the higher religions contain, (in their best respect) the same great and noble ideas which arise naturally out of our own minds, and grow with the growth of the general mind; but that there is really no evidence whatever of any sort of revelation, at any point in the history. The idea of a future life too, I take to be a necessary one, (I mean necessary for support) in its proper place, but likely to die out when men better understand their nature and the summum bonum which it incloses. At the same time, so ignorant as I am of what is possible in nature, I do not deny the possibility of a life after death; and if I believed the desire for it to be universal as I once thought it, I should look upon so universal a tendency as some presumption in favor of a continuous life."¹ Miss Martineau reiterates again and again in her Autobiography

1. Martineau, Autobiography, I, 547

that she is an Atheist not in the philosophical sense, of denying a First Cause, but in the popular sense, of rejecting popular theology, of denying to this First Cause the attribution of human characteristics. Along with the other things which Miss Martineau gave up, she repudiated the Design Argument: "I had learned that men judge from an inverted image of external things within themselves when they insist upon the Design Argument, as it is called,- applying the solution from out of their own peculiar faculties to external things which, in fact, suggest that very conception of design to the human faculty. I had learned that whatever conception is transferred by 'instinct' or supposition from the human mind to the Universe cannot possibly be the true solution, as the action of any product of the general laws of the Universe cannot possibly be the original principle of those laws."¹

In brief, Miss Martineau did not believe in the Christian nor in any other God of human attributes. In the divinity of Christ and in the divine inspiration of the Bible she never had believed, because she was a Unitarian. At first she had, like the Unitarians, interpreted the Bible in the light of her reason. She read the Bible, the New Testament at least, until after her trip to the East. Her confession or disavowal of faith contains no direct reference to the Bible, but it is to be inferred that her complete repudiation of theology included it. Her rational, logical mind makes any other assumption impossible. The Christian religion, because the foundation of it is working out one's own salvation with fear and trembling, seemed to her essentially selfish. Along with the other parts of her theology which she rejected late in life, went all idea of revelation and belief in immortality. Far from making her fear death, her new belief made her accept it as rest after her life. Her view of things became

1. Martineau, Autobiography, II, 29

so broad that her own individual life did not seem to matter. She felt that she had had her share of life: " Under the external laws of the Universe, I came into being, and under them I have lived a life so full that its fullness is equivalent to length."¹ Sorry that she had done no more of benefit to society, she was, at the end of her life, ready to have it cease, to yield her place to someone else. Philosophic calm pervaded the last years of her life. Though an atheist, her life like Mill's, testified to the essential goodness of her character.

IV.

CONCLUSION

It will be remembered that in the introduction to the paper, I proposed to study the religious experiences of Carlyle, Mill, and Miss Martineau with a view to finding out whether or not their experiences were alike. As I have worked out the experience of each, I have compared them one to another. The results of this comparison have been, in brief, these.

Harriet Martineau and Thomas Carlyle were each brought up in devout "religious" families. In childhood they accepted the faith of their parents, but as soon as they reached an age when they began to think, the religion of their childhood failed to satisfy them. John Stuart Mill was brought up in no faith, so he had nothing to lose, but at about the same age, when the experience came to the others, he too became dissatisfied and wretched. Thus, though the experience varied according to individual characteristics and environment, it was the same, a conflict between knowledge and belief, a realization of their own misery and the misery and evil in the world, together with a realization of the impotency of religion to effect a cure.

The effect of this experience was, as has been shown, identical in some important respects. All three came to the conclusion that concern for their own conditions was selfish as well as useless. Carlyle, wrenching himself free from his fear of the Universe and its meaning, regained his former faith in God. Though he continued to deny the divinity of Christ, he accepted the spirit of Christianity in that he preached the renunciation of self. He attained mental and spiritual satisfaction by resigning his fear, and sacrificing his life and work to the cause of humanity. John Stuart Mill, his emotions set free by a

trivial incident, accepted as his religion, duty to the world or "The Religion of Humanity". He accepted the theology of no creed, maintained that the proofs to which man has access do not prove the existence of God, yet kept a desire for immortality and a generous-minded attitude toward humanity. As Oliver Elton says of him, "Mill, heartened by Wordsworth's poetry, set himself to think out his reasoned groundwork for the science of human happiness."¹ Harriet Martineau's experience of dissatisfaction and unhappiness was not so violent as Carlyle's and Mill's, but was more protracted. Her first step out of her difficulties came through the conviction that worry about her situation was egoistic. Subsequently she became engrossed in the problem of the ignorance of the "people" of England and in the unjust treatment of them by the aristocracy. This part of her experience is similar not only to Mill's but also to Carlyle's. The conclusions at which she arrived, however, resembled Mill's. Both of them repudiated all theology, belief in revelation and immortality. The reasons each advanced to prove his views differed. As an argument to prove the existence of God, Mill thought the so-called Design Argument more reasonable than that of instinct. Harriet Martineau held just the opposite opinion. These were minor points, however, and they agreed on fundamentals.

The religious experiences of Carlyle, Mill, and Miss Martineau, different, yet withal vitally similar, raise the question of the reason for this similarity,- a question which may perhaps be answered in two ways. In the first place, their experiences are due to the universal tendency of human nature to long for something outside and better than itself. This yearning for the infinite coming into opposition with the limitations of man's knowledge causes a

psychological process, beginning at the time of intellectual awakening and lasting through the period of growth and readjustment. If it were true that as questions occur to the mind they could be answered, no unhappiness would result; intellectual and spiritual growth then could proceed together. The way the world is made, however, as the mind develops, it comes against the obstacle of things which cannot be known, or if they can be known, then conflict with religious belief. Therefore the period of "Storm and Stress" must last until one of three things happens: until satisfactory answers are found, until the questions are silenced by the crowding in of the world's interests, or until loss of faith results.

Probably everyone in the world who lives long enough to begin to think, goes through a religious experience analogous to these of Carlyle, Mill, and Miss Martineau. It was the greatness of these three people which made their experiences revolutionary to their natures. Most people have not the qualities necessary to withstand the struggle; they neither find answers to their questions, nor lose the religion they had, but in a manner keep both questions and religion, letting immediate needs absorb their attention. But greatness increased the insistence of the questions which occurred to these three people, and also increased their potentialities for suffering when their questions could not be answered.

What happened in their case was that their extreme dissatisfaction amounted to loss of faith; this condition, however, because of their great need of something bigger and finer than themselves, could not last, and they substituted something else for their former belief. The "Religion of Humanity" which they substituted was not of the earth entirely earthy because of the spirit of self renunciation which breathed through it. Though their work concerned itself with man's needs on earth, its ultimate object was the finer things of the mind

and spirit. For these reasons their religion had in it something of the divine.

It may be objected that though Carlyle, Mill, and Miss Martineau all professed faith in the "Religion of Humanity", yet Carlyle believed in God, and final religion was not entirely identical with that of John Stuart Mill and Harriet Martineau. This is true, as I have attempted to show in the discussion; and I think it was true not only because he was very religious as a child, for Harriet Martineau was also that, but also because his nature was more perfectly balanced than were those of Harriet Martineau and John Stuart Mill. With the latter the intellectual part outweighed the spiritual and emotional, and this fact determined the nature of the final phase of their religious experience.

In the second place, these people's experiences were alike because of the spirit of the time. The Victorian Age, as has been mentioned in the introduction, was characterized by two great tendencies; the first was interest in the problem of man's personal existence, due to the awakening of science and the scientific spirit of inquiry; the second was interest in social problems, due to the spread of democracy. Looking at the thing in a materialistic way, the answer to the question of similarity is that these people, like good machines, their levers touched by the tendencies of the times, moved forward through concern for their own spiritual welfare to concern for the welfare of humanity. According to the true scientific spirit, their work throughout is characterized by a desire for truth irrespective of where it leads. Almost everything they wrote has at foundation an ethical purpose. As Hazlitt has said of himself, so might each one of these have said: "I have endeavoured to feel what is good and to give a reason for the faith that was in me, when necessary, and when in my power."

V.

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